Food shortage in coastal regions.

16. *Mr. James Fletcher: Will the Government be pleased to state :

(*a*) whether food scarcity is acute along the coastal area from Colachel to Chirayinkil; and

(*b*) whether arrangements have been made to distribute or ration food stuffs such as rice and tapioca to the poor fishing folk of the said coastal area ?

Mr. K. R. Narayana Aiyar: (*a*) The food scarcity is acute in all areas including the coastal tract in question.

(*b*) Arrangements for the distribution of rice all over the State have been made through the Revenue Officers. In regard to tapioca, it is proposed to arrange distribution through Anchal Masters in the coastal taluks, in the first instance.

Controlled Articles.

17. *Mr. K. M. Kesavan (*Karunagapally, Kartikapally and Ambalapuzha* cum *Shertala*) : Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have put any restraint on the Tahsildars from supplying the statement showing the receipt and distribution of controlled articles to the members of the "Taluk food control committee" constituted by them from the citizens of the taluk ?

Mr. K. R. Narayana Aiyar : Government are not aware of any such restraint.

Cement Factory.

18. *Mr. K. M. Kesavan : Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have, during the current year, considered the question of starting a cement factory in Travancore ?

Mr. E. I. Chacko (*Diretor of Industries*) : Government have considered this question and are in favour of a Cement factory being started in Travancore. But no effective step can be taken in this direction until after the War.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION.

President : Order, order. I have received notice of an adjournment motion from Mr. V. Sankara Menon :

"I move that the business of the House be adjourned for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the disparaging effect of certain unfounded statements contained in the 1942 Census Report of Travancore, which have cast aspersions on (1) the women-folk of Travancore following the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance and (2) the Sanathanists in their attitude towards the Temple Entry Proclamation and the urgent necessity for the immediate deletion of all such unfounded statements from the Census Report."

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The motion is in order. Has the House any objection to its being discussed ?

No objection was raised in the House against the motion.

President : The motion will be taken up for discussion this afternoon at 3.30.

DEWAN-PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT RE : FOOD SITUATION.

President : I have to announce to the honourable members of this House the contents of a telegram that I have just received from New Delhi. "Regret, Central Provinces, Sind, Cannot Supply Your Requirements, Immediately. Madras Has Agreed to Give 15,000 tons Plus 5,000 tons On Behalf Of Bengal. Please Contact Madras."

We have already taken action on the latter portion of the telegram. But, as I foresaw in my address elsewhere, the needs of these Provinces on account of the unseasonal rains, cyclone and other catastrophe have also been very urgent and pressing. The Government of India are doing their utmost to help them, but as will be seen from the telegram, and as will be apparent from the fact that where Provincial autonomy is in existence, the Central Government cannot order, but can only advise. Incidentally, supplies cannot now be made to this country by any Province other than Madras.

The point, however, is this. Yesterday I asked honourable members of this House to meet the honourable members of the other House and consider ways and means for dealing with the situation ; and I have been apprised of the trend of the discussions. I understand that those discussions will continue to-day. But in view of what has happened, I may at once make a few observations which may shorten the discussions and enable honourable members to come to the assistance of Government by making concrete proposals.

The first point is that it is no longer possible for this Government to allow anybody the luxury of removing the price control. If it is suggested that the price of rice be raised and the agriculturists be allowed to make as much profit as the cultivators of pepper, ginger, tea and rubber, I do not think any feasible solution can be arrived at. I do not propose to deal in detail with the difference in the position of tea or pepper and rice. So far as human consumption is concerned, it is possible for man to live without tea or pepper. The question therefore, of any relaxation of price control is absolutely ruled out in view to the information that we have received. The question also of any system other than the Goverment control over every grain of rice is negatived. It would, however, be most useful for Government to get advice and also co-operation on the question of distribution. I shall deal with both

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bonuses reach the hands of those they are intended to benefi t There are greater difficulties in the way of assessing the financial implications of the problem. Even granting that the teachers would get 2 rupees extra grant as the resolution asks for, can it stop there? Nevertheless, as I said, the assessment of the liability on behalf of the various types of teachers and various grades of teachers employed in over two thousand schools is itself a serious task. It is also likely that on the same bais of rendering valuable services to the State, a large number of other employees not directly in the Government service might come farward with similar demands. Therefore, my first difficulty is that this resolution is far too vague, far too comprehensive to be accepted without a proper examination and without careful scrutiny.

Probably there is a point about the term "aided" which is part of the wording of the resolution. The mover himself will be the first to admit that Tamil school teachers render equally important service in the sense they are responsible for the education of a good number of pupils in several parts of the State. They are responsible for the education of a good number of pupils in several parts of the State. The terms "aided" is now used in a broad sense, as an alternative to the word 'departmental'. Therefore schools, which do not receive any aid whatsoever also come within the operation of this resolution. The term "aided" is a very wide one. So, all non-departmental schools which do not at present receive any aid whatsoever can also claim to come under this category. There are Malayalam schools, Tamil schools, Malayalam High Schools, Malayalam Middle Schools and so on, and they all can come within the scope of this resolution. The resolution fixes no basic limit within which this grant should be confined. In the matter of departmental schools and departmental officers, a maximum of Rs. 20 has been fixed for a person to become eligible for the dearness allowance of Rs. 2. No such limit is contemplated within the scope of this resolution and therefore it is likely to create great difficulties in the way of its application. Taking this wider interpretation into account I must admit that I have no figuers to go upon ; and there is no sort of limit that can be fixed.

President : It is now time for the adjournment motion.

ADJOURNMENT MOTION.

Mr. V. Sankara Menon : Sir, "I move that the business of the House be adjourned for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely the disparaging effect of certain unfounded statements contained in the 1941 Census Report of Travancore, which have cast aspersions on (1) the womenfolk of Travancore following the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance and (2) the Sanatanists in their attitude towards the

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[Mr. V. Sankara Menon]

Temple Entry Proclamation, and the urgent necessity for the immediate deletion of all such unfounded statements from the Census Report."

Sir, I cannot trust myself in making a speech on this matter. I have been all along under the impression that the one thing that Travancore is proud of more than anything else is the condition of the women-folk of the State. Sir, the statements in the Report without any feeling of doubt means that a large number of the women of Travancore, *ie* the followers of the Marumakkathayam community live in vice. That is what I am able to understand by a reading of the unhappy paragraph in this published report of the State. No words can express and no language is strong enough to condemn the statement giving such an implication contained in the report. For the one thing, if not for anything else, that I have moved this resolution is to make the public understand that we do not coolly put up with such statements eventhough it is contained in Government publications. The women-folk of Travancore can stand comparison with the women-folk of any country in the world in the point of education, in the point of their proficiency in fine arts and accomplishments and every other walk of life. In all these respects, the women of Travancore are second to none. To say that a large section of the women of that community who follow the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance are living in vice on account of the system of the law is, to say the least of it, unfortunate. The paragraph is a very short one though it has done immense mischief. I shall read that particular paragraph.

> "Through legislation has thus considerably helped in maintaining and promoting the sanctity of marriage, economic conditions have driven the helpless female, especially after the collapse of the 'Marumakkathayam' system to a loose form of 'consortium' for getting her daily bread. If statistics could be collected about cases of the negation of 'connubial bliss' through economic necessity it will unfold a harrowing tale of woe and misery indeed. This 'hidden misery' is more poignant than the 'hidden unemployment'. No law could mitigate this evil. That spirit of real social service which transcends the narrow limits of community or custom can alone bring salvation to this suffering humanity. The increase of married females over married males may partly be accounted for by this nefarious practice."

I ask my friend Mr. Thampy what special meaning can there be. Does it speak well of the women-folk of Travancore or does it cast any aspersion on their mode of life ? I do not think that the author of this report is to be blamed very much. Perhaps the passage might have crept into the report in the course of his eloquent composition. Whatever it be, the the fact remains that such an implication is contained in this statement and early steps should be taken to delete that portion from the report.

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Sir, the second matter on which I wish to draw the attention of the House is contained in paragraph 393. I shall read that paragraph.

> "The temple remained the stronghold of the Savarnas and their dominating influnce prevented the removal of caste barriers. With the Temple Entry Proclamation the way was cleared. The Sanatanists found one citadel after another surrendering and their very existence threatened by the ostracism of those whom they had ostracised before. They have been reduced to a minority and may even have to seek refuge under the protecting clauses of minority legislations."

I wish to say at the very outset that it is a false statement. It is unfounded and it is not supported by any scrap of paper or material. On the other hand the Temple Entry Proclamation was the out come of the active co-operation of the whole people of the State including the Sanatanists.

Mr. Kochikkal P. Balakrishnan Tampi: May I know whether the Sringhari Madom at Kaladi is opened to the Avarnas ?

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: That does not signify that the large majority of the Savarnas are opposed to Temple Entry.

Mr Kochikkal P. Balakrishnan Tampi: May I know whether the temples owned by the Goudasaraswath Brahmins are yet opened to the caste Hindus ?

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: That does not suggest that the Saraswath Brahmins are opposed to Temple Entry. They are private temples under special constitutions. If they are not opened they will be opened after sometime. Public opinion is in favour of the temple entry and it is as a result of that that the Temple Entry Proclamation was issued. As a matter of fact, I know that the Temple Entry Proclamation was issued with the active co-operation of the leading citizens in Kerala. The Azhuvancherry Thamprakal and other leading Sanatanists were in favour of Temple entry.

Mr. Kochikkal P. Balakrishnan Tampi: Is the member aware that the term Sanatanists has acquired a different meaning in British India ?

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: They do not come under my definitions.

Mr. T. Mohammed Ismail: May I know the different communities in Travancore who come under the term 'Sanatanists'

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: 'Sanatanists' in my view are those people who were allowed Temple entry even before the Proclamation,

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President: The word "Sanatanists" if it is used at all, must mean the followers of Sanathana Dharma. Certain persons use that expression in a particular way, and as I understand, their method and outlook of life is prescribed by Sanathana Dharma, which is literally ancient law. That is all that it means and the expression signifies the Orthodox Hindu community which follow the Vedas.

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: What I wish to say is that this paragraph is not only untrue but it is opposed to the real effects and hidden meaning of the Temple Entry Proclamation. It is also fundamentally opposed to the spirit of the great Proclamation which was acclaimed more by the Sanatanists than the people for whom it was intended. It has earned a name and prestige to Travancore and it is one that has raised the State to a considerable height. "They have been reduced to a minority and may even have to seek refuge under the protecting clauses of minority –legislations," what can I say about that? I view this as a condolence motion and simply pass this motion without much speech. I would not have attached much importance to the words contained in the report but for the attempt at justification contained in the reply that was given by the Census Commissioner elsewhere which I had the misfortune to hear.

Rather he attempts to justify his statements. He says that he was actuated by his *bonafides*. There was a book called 'Mother India' written by Miss Mayo. There were also statements which falsely blackened the conditions prevailing in India. She defended her unfounded ravings about India by saying that she was actuated by her *bonafides* and that she believed the statements to be true. But can that exonerate her conduct?

President: Reading the Report more closely I find that the Census Commissioner is, as seen from paragraph 194 at page 61, himself in favour of getting away from the restrictions imposed by religion and wants the marriages to be rather loose. That seems to be his point of view.

> 'It is no wonder, therefore, that society demands a revision of the ancient codes based on religious sanction and asks for a freer life, untrammelled by the restrictions imposed by religion which has long lost its pristine purity. So, let divorce stand with the remarriage of widows as a humanitarian contribution to modern society."

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: But reading this paragraph we must take into consideration what an ordinary man understands by it.

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President: So he is consistent in this point.

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: That makes matters worse. As I said before it is better to press for the passing of the motion without further remarks except to say that sooner these passages are deleted from this Report, the better, considering all the aspects of the case. With these few words I commend my motion.

Mr. Kalloor Narayana Pillai: സർ, ഗവണ്മെൻറ് പബ്ലിക്കേഷനായ സെൻസസ് റിപ്പോർട്ട് വായിച്ചുനോക്കിയപ്പോൾ വലുതായ സങ്കടമാണ് എനിക്ക് ഉണ്ടായതെന്ന വ്യസനസമേതം ഞാൻ അറിയിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. ഈ റിപ്പോർട്ട് വായിച്ചാൽ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഇപ്പോഴുണ്ടായിട്ടുള്ള വിഷമതകളെല്ലാം മരുമക്കത്തായമായക്രമംകൊണ്ട് ഉണ്ടായതാണെന്നു തോന്നിപ്പോകും. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ കുറെ നായർകുടുംബങ്ങളും കുറെ ഈഴവകുടുംബങ്ങളും തിരുമൽപ്പാടന്മാർ തുടങ്ങിയ നമ്പൂ രാജകീയ കുടുംബങ്ങളും മാത്രമേ മരുമക്കത്തായം ആചരിച്ചുവരുന്നുള്ളൂ. നാഞ്ചിനാട്ടു വെള്ളാളർ, ബ്രാഹ്മണർ, മഹമ്മദീയർ, ക്രിസ്ത്യാനികൾ ഇവർ മക്കത്തായം ആചരിച്ചുവരുന്നവരുമാണ്. ൧൯൦൦-ൽ നായർ റഗുലേഷൻ വന്നതോടുകൂടി ആളോഹരിഭാഗം തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ നായന്മാരെ മുഴുവൻ ഒന്നോടെ ആക്രമിച്ച് അവരെ ദരിദ്രന്മാരാക്കി. ഏതാനും നായർ കുടുംബങ്ങൾ ആളോഹരിഭാഗം വേണ്ടെന്നു പ്രക്ഷോഭണം നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്തു. എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽ മരുമക്കത്തായം ഇല്ലാതാക്കിയതുകൊണ്ടാണ് നായന്മാർ ഇപ്പോൾ കൂടുതൽ ദാരിദ്ര്യം അനുഭവിക്കാൻ ഇടയായതെന്നാണ്.

വേറൊന്നുള്ളതു്, തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ സ്ത്രീകൾ മിക്കവാറും അഭിസാരികാത്വം ഉള്ളവരാണെന്നാണ് റിപ്പോർട്ടുകൊണ്ടു കാണുന്നതു്. കുടുംബപാരമ്പര്യമുള്ള തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ വനിതാലോകത്തിനുമാത്രമല്ല തിരുവിതാംകൂറിനു പൊതുവേ ശാശ്വതമായ അപകീർത്തിയുണ്ടാക്കുന്നതാണ് റിപ്പോർട്ടിലെ ഈ ഭാഗം. ദാരിദ്ര്യം അനുഭവിക്കുന്ന സ്ത്രീകൾ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ മുക്കിലും മൂലയിലും ചിലപ്പോൾ കണ്ടേക്കാം. അവർ നിത്യാഹാരത്തിനുപോലും വഴികാണാതെ അപകീർത്തികരമായി വല്ലതും പ്രവർത്തിച്ചുവെന്നും വന്നേയ്ക്കാം. എന്നാൽ പൊതുവെ മിക്കവാറും ഇതൊരു തൊഴിലായി സ്വീകരിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നു പറയുന്നതു് അവാസ്തവവും അപകീർത്തികരവുമാണെന്ന് ഞാൻ അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നു. ഞാൻ മദ്രാസ്, മധുര മുതലായ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം ഓരോ കാര്യവശാൽ പോയിട്ടുണ്ട്. അവിടങ്ങളിൽ വേശ്യാത്വം ധാരാളം ഉണ്ട്. അവിടങ്ങളിൽ ഇതിനായിട്ട് പ്രത്യേകം തെരുവുകൾപോലും ഉണ്ട്.

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[Mr. Kalloor Narayana Pillai.]

അവിടെ ഈ ജാതിയിൽപ്പെട്ട ചിലരെ വിളിക്കുന്നതു മലയാളവേശ്യകൾ എന്നാണ്. മലയാളരാജ്യത്തിലെ ചില കുഡുംബങ്ങളിൽ താമസിച്ച് അവരുമായി ഇടപഴകി പിന്നെ ആ സ്ഥലങ്ങളിൽചെന്ന് ഇതു് ഒരു തൊഴിലായി സ്വീകരിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നവരാണ് ഇവർ. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ ഇവർ അവർ പറയുന്ന കുടുംബങ്ങളിലെ അംഗങ്ങളായിരിക്കുകയില്ല. എങ്കിലും ഏതെങ്കിലും ഒരു വലിയ കുടുംബത്തിന്റെ പേരും പറഞ്ഞു് അഭിമാനിക്കുന്നവരും ഉണ്ട്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ ഏകദേശം ഏഴു ലക്ഷത്തോളം വരുന്ന നായർ കുടുംബങ്ങളിൽ മിക്കവയും അഭിമാനംകൊണ്ടും സ്ഥിതികൊണ്ടും കേമംവിളിപ്പെട്ടവരാണ്. അവരിൽ ഒരൊറ്റ അംഗം പോലും ഈ തൊഴിലിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചിരിക്കുമെന്നു വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നതുതന്നെ പാപകർമമായിരിക്കും.

അങ്ങനെയിരിക്കെ തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ സ്ത്രീകളെ ആകമാനം ചേർത്തു് ഇപ്രകാരം അധിക്ഷേപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന സെൻസസ് റിപ്പോർട്ട് പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചതു പരിതാപകരം തന്നെയാണ്.

പിന്നീട് ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശന വിളംബരത്തെപ്പറ്റിയാണ്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശന വിളംബരത്തിനു് തിരുവിതാംകൂറിലെ സനാതനികർ എതിരായിരുന്നെന്നാണ് റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ പറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നതു്. തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ സനാതനികർ എന്നൊരു വർഗ്ഗക്കാരുണ്ടോ എന്നുള്ളതു് എനിക്കറിഞ്ഞുകൂടാ. ബ്രാഹ്മണർ, ക്ഷത്രിയർ, നായന്മാർ മുതലായവർ ഇവരെയാണ് സനാതനികർ എന്ന അർത്ഥത്തിൽ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നുവെന്നുള്ളതു ശരിയാണെങ്കിൽ എന്റെ അഭിപ്രായം അവരുടെ ഉത്സാഹം കൊണ്ടാണ് ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിളംബരം ഇത്രക്ഷണത്തിൽ പ്രായോഗികമായിത്തീർന്നതെന്നാണ്. ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനത്തിനെതിരായി തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ ഒരൊറ്റ കുഞ്ഞുപോലും ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നതായി എനിക്കറിവില്ല. അതിനാൽ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കാരുണ്യംകൊണ്ട് അനുവദിക്കപ്പെട്ട ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിളംബരത്തിനു് സനാതനികർ എതിരായിരുന്നു എന്നു പറയുന്നതു സ്വപ്നത്തിൽപോലും വിചാരിക്കാൻ പാടില്ലാത്തതാണു്. മഹാരാജാവുതിരുമനസ്സിലെ തിരുവെഴുത്തുവിളംബരത്തിനു മുൻപുതന്നെ ഈ സഭയിൽ ഇപ്പോൾ ഒരംഗമായിരിക്കുന്ന മി. തുപ്പൻ നംപൂതിരിപ്പാട് അന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ കീഴിലിരുന്നിരുന്ന കുമാരനല്ലൂർ ക്ഷേത്രത്തിൽ സ്വമനസ്സാലെ സന്തോഷപൂർവ്വം

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ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനം അനുവദിച്ചുകൊടുത്ത വസ്തുത ഇവിടെ പ്രസ്താവിച്ചുകൊള്ളട്ടെ. സംഗതി ഇങ്ങനെയിരിക്കെ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ക്ഷേത്രപ്രവേശനവിളംബരത്തിന് തിരുവിതാംകൂറിൽ എതിരുണ്ടായി എന്ന റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്നതു പരിതാപകരംതന്നെയാണ്. ഈ രണ്ടു ഭാഗവും റിപ്പോർട്ടിൽനിന്നും മാറ്റണമെന്നു പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ട് വിരമിക്കുന്നു.

Mr. K. M. Kesavan: I am very much pained to support this motion, because such a reproachful matter has been allowed to enter into an important publication of the Government of Travancore. Reading through the figures:

Number of married females per 1000 married males.

Community	1,941	1,931
All communities	1,054	1,034
Hindu	1,069	1,047
Muslim	1,085	1,049
Christian	1,022	1,007.

Here the Census Commissioner says:

> "Polygamy is prohibited among Christians both by Law and by religion. So the excess in this case may very likely be due to emigration of married males. This may be true to a certain extent in the case of Hindus and Muslims also. During the last decade, 6,603 more women than men immigrated into Travancore. Among Muslims polygamy is not prohibited by law or custom, but public opinion has always discouraged the perpetuation of this practice. Among Hindus polygamy is not prohibited by law except for certain communities."

So we see from the figures given here that among Christians also the number of married females is greater than that of married males. But I do not know by what sort of curious logic the Census Commissioner has drawn the conclusion that this sort of loose 'consortium' is found only among those who follow the Marumakkathayam system.

The explanation is given in the same paragraph. In the case of Christians, it is explained that the increase is due to immigration of males. In the case of Hindus also this explanation must hold good; there have been cases of migration among the Hindus and Muslims also.

President: Apparently that is not accepted by the Census Commissioner.

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Mr. K. M. Kesavan: Whatever that might be, I cannot anyhow, endorse that view. It is a reproach to those communities who follow the Marumakkathayam system of inheritance.

So also with regard to his views about the Sanatanists, I record my strong protest. So far as I know, there has been no case of staunch opposition from those who are known by the term Sanatanists. If there were any oppositionists at the time of the Vaikom Satyagraha, they were gradually converted into the sympathetic view that temple entry should be allowed to all those who profess Hinduism. So far as I know there is not one Sanatanist, in Travancore at least, who holds a different view. Therefore that observation is also untenable. So I think that the paragraphs 188 and 393 may be deleted from this important publication. Otherwise it will be a reproach to the Government of Travancore. It will be a reproach to the Temple Entry Proclamation as well.

Mr. Kochikal P. Balakrishnan Tampi: I also mourn, but not for the reasons alleged by my friends. I am inclined to feel that these Marumakkathayi women should be saved from their friends. I very much doubt whether these very chivalrous gentlemen have done a good turn to the Marumakkathayi women by mourning over this official publication or by speaking about some stray sentences in it.

President: This Report is not an official publication.

Mr. Kochikal P. Balakrishnan Tampi. Well, it may be unofficial. There may be statements in certain paragraphs which may not be accepted unanimously—only natural in an encyclopædic publication. My only prayer is that the Malayalee women should be saved from the attention of their friends like my friend Mr. Sankara Menon. After all, we have outgrown that stage of tribal consciousness. I do not think that any harm is being done by any scholar like Mr. Tampi coming to certain inferences from certain figures, rightly or wrongly. A person entrusted with the preparation of a serious publication has every right, I should say, even to make mistakes, as a judge who is asked to write a judgment has the implied right to make a mistake, provided he does it in good faith. To give publicity to the tendencies of a certain section of helpless women be it a fact or not, at every turn, in this Council is not to be commended. I do not think that any woman's feelings should be hurt by these statements in the Census Report. I do not also hold that the question of the character of the women is in issue here.

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"Loose consortium."—I ask whether—I do not wish to alienate the House—the Honourable Members know the meaning of the word "Consortium." After all, may we not take it that it refers to some sort of marriage perhaps of the class advocated by Justice Lindsay which enables free divorce. To say that the Census Commissioner has done a great and irretrievable wrong to the womanhood of the Marumakkathai communities and all that, is an over-statement, a piece of rehetoric, nothing more than that. I think a greater wrong is done by these chivalrous champions of our womanhood. I should not be understood as advocating for or admiring an occasional pomposity or a list of under-graduate eloquence. We must have a sense of proportion. And it is quite unfair to condemn a scholar on the obscurity or even the absurdity of a particular passage. Ought we to be in agreement with all the remarks of the Commissioner? Government has entrusted a man, with some cultural attainments to write a certain report. He has done his work to the best of his abilities. I place any importance not upon his conclusions but upon his figures. If the accuracy of the figures is unquestioned—that is the most important part of the Census Report—one can very well say that the Census Commissioner has done his work well. As I have stated before, we have done a conscious harm to our womanhood and to the Report under reference by saying that the character of our women has been maligned. I do not think that any great wrong has been done by anybody. No Honourable Member who respects women need go with the impression that any wrong has been done to anybody. But the passage read out by Mr. Sankara Menon so studiously is only a rather pompous way of saying that some improvement is necessary to the Marumakkathayi women affected by partition laws. That is a matter on which the whole House will agree with him.

Now, I come to the question of Sanatanist opposition. Let us see whether any wrong has been done by the Report in saying that there was a class of people who held opposite views? In spite of the Temple Entry Proclamation there are small pockets of orthodox opposition. But, one by one they are yielding.

Mr. V. Sankara Menon: Sir, I question that statement.

Mr. Kochikal P. Balakrishnan Tampi: Some of the temples, here and there, there are, I do not want to give them importance by mentioning their names, where orthodox men are trying to continue the old practice of keeping out a section of Hindus. Whether they are right or wrong is a different matter. There has been some sort of mild opposition to the epoch-mkaing Proclamation from certain quarters. But we are proud to see that

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[Mr. Kochikal P. Balakrishnan Tampi.]

the great bulk of the Namboothiris and other people who once prided themselves as savarnavas exhibiting their happiness at Travancore being the first place to lead the rest of India in this matter. This need not make the Honourable House forget the pages of the Report of the Temple Entry Committee which functioned under the chairmanship of Mr. V. S. Subramoni Aiyar. Some of these people who are now the staunchest supporters of the movement gave evidence against it. Even some Honourable Members of this House might have done so. Even some Nair gentlemen, some of them who are only too conscious now of their forward views on these matters were then very hesitant. When the inevitable happened and the Temples were thrown open to those who sought entry, some of these orthodox people made a virtue of necessity, and went in for demonstrations and memorials. That is a fact, Sir, well known to the public of Travancore. In the face of these facts, the only question is whether this College Don should be penalised for his views or whether an impeachment is called for. In my view, erudite scholars like Mr. Menon who took the trouble to pick up these passages need not have given so much importance or such interpretation to these passages.

Mr. James Fletcher: Sir, though the Census Report is not an official record, it has got certain value. It is a record we shall have to refer to very often and as the days go by, it assumes greater importance. And in a record of this sort we want facts clearly stated and correctly too. If it contains certain statements which are irresponsible, such statements cannot but be deleted. Therefore, my submission is that those statements should be deleted. There is no question of impeachment here. This resolution of my friend is for deleting certain passages from the Census Report. The only question is whether those statements are supported by facts or not. Sir, the author of the report has made his other statements on the figures which he has collected. In this case he has not done so. He has not collected or gathered any fact or figures which has helped him to come to the conclusions which he has made. These conclusions are neither supported by any evidence nor by data. He has drawn the conclusions from certain facts, which have no relevancy at all to the statement he has made. As my Honourable friend Mr. Balakrishnan Tampi has said, judges may have a right to decide wrongly. In that case there are appellate courts to correct those judgments. Here the Legislative House is the forum where such false statements have to be brought in, studied and corrected. In my opinion this statement of the author is wrong and as such it has to be corrected. The Census Commissioner says "Through economic necessity, especially after

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the collapse of the Marumakkathayam system, the helpless females are driven to a loose form of consortium to earn their livelihood." I do not understand what the Commissioner means by the statement. Poverty may lead to loose morality. But how can the woman belonging to a Marumakkathayee Community be driven to that sort of marriage? Where does such form of marriage exist? Nobody knows. One is tempted to think that such a system of marriage exists among the Marumakkathayee Communities in this State. This statement will lead people outside to view things from a wrong angle, as the notorious Miss Mayo saw of India. This gentleman also sees only the worst side of things and makes certain sweeping views without any foundation on facts. This affects a large section of the people adversely. He was rather out-Mayoing Mayo. Then again I do not understand what he means by saying that the increase of married females over married males is partly due to this nefarious practice.

Mr. T. Muhammed Ismail: Cannot this increase of married females over married males be attributed to polyandry?

Mr. James Fletcher: No, Sir. That may be accounted for by many good reasons. I can assure you Sir, perhaps any Census Report will tell you, that ordinarily, mortality among men is greater than among women over a certain age. Secondly, we may also remember the fact that men are often going out of Travancore for business or in service in connection with the War. There are so many reasons which would make the men go and reside outside. Therefore to say that because married women are greater in Travancore than married men and this leads to loose morals is false and fallacious. With these words I strongly support the first part of the motion.

I may now refer, Sir, to the second part of the motion. Travancore is one of the most forward states in respect of education, intelligence and tolerance. The people of Travancore can be compared favourably with any section of the people in the rest of India. So much so the people were prepared to give greater freedom in allowing their poorer brethren to enter their Temple and worship the deities. That is, there was great sympathy between Sanatanists and non-Sanatanists.

By Sanatanists I mean people who follow the orthodox religious sentiments and they were really in sympathy with non-Sanatanists or so called non-caste Hindus. This real relationship helped people to come together and desire the admission into the temple. His Highness the Maharaja knowing the real feeling of the people and knowing them intimately translated the desire of the people by his proclamation. It was a glorious act and all accepted that great proclamation as one of the wonderful forward

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[Mr. James Fletcher.]

moves that have ever been promulgated in India. This proclamation was not opposed by anybody ; even those who did not immediately feel one with the spirit of that proclamation were soon convinced and they supported that proclamation. When one reads the census report one is misled to think that there are certain people opposing the proclamation. Sir, such statements should not be allowed to remain in records, and it will be too late to correct it later. Therefore it is the time to make the necessary corrections even now.

President: Before putting this matter to vote—I think it has been discussed sufficiently—there are one or two general remarks which might be made to clarify the situation. After the motion that had been tabled elsewhere, I have been going through this report somewhat carefully. In view to the many statements that have been made on the floor of this House and elsewhere, it is, I think, the duty of the Government to clear up its attitude and its position. A census is ordered mainly for the purpose of gathering together certain figures and for performing certain arithmetical operations based on direct and personal enquiry and investigation. A large number of enumerators, official and non-official, are utilised for this census operation. In order to co-ordinate the efforts of these enumerators and to put those figures in certain logical consequences and in order to give them a coherent meaning, and in order, moreover, to classify under different and appropriate categories the information gathered together by the enumerators, a Census Commissioner is usually appointed. Such a Census Commissioner is appointed for the whole of India, and that is Mr. Yeatts, who is coming here next week, in order to see the results of the All India Censu. Similarly every Province and every State has appointed Census Commissioners whose main duty and whose task is to put these figures together and to give intelligent explanation of those figures. Figures by themselves, as was stated on one occasion by a very great statesman, can be made to speak in any voice. But the object of the Census Commissioner is to make some meaning out of these complicated figures. A great deal of latitude has therefore necessarily to be given to the Census Commissioner in so far as he arrives at certain conclusions based on those figures. Whether those conclusions are correct or not, we have no right, and the Government have no right, to quarrel with. In other words so long as a Census Commissioner narrates facts, indicates figures, and, from those facts and figures, arrives at certain hypotheses or deductions, he is immuned from criticism. And no Administrator and no Government can pillory

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the Census Commissioner or the Compiler of a State Manual for making observations either on history or psychology or politics or anything else provided the background is there. To put it in another way, the main things that matter for future generations are pages 192 onwards. If there is a mistake in those figures, that mistake is the mistake of the enumerators and of the various officers employed to conduct the census operations. And if the Census Commissioner did not closely scrutinise those defects and satisfy himself about their accuracy he would have been guilty of serious dereliction of duty. He would not be guilty of dereliction of duty or anything else of the kind if based on those figures, he draws certain deductions in the body of the report which is his work particularly so called and I want to make it perfectly clear that pages 1 to 192 represent the mental processes of the Census Commissioner and do not commit the Government to those views or ideas. It cannot otherwise be so. The Census Report is not subjected to a prior scrutiny by the Government. The State Manual for instance, is not subjected to prior scrutiny by Government. What the Government do is this. They choose a man of experience, of scholarship, of proved reasoning capacity and ask him to collect certain figures and draw his inferences from those figures. In so far as any person confines himself to that task he must be immune from detailed or captious criticism. Those are my preliminary observations.

Let us test these two passages by these tests which I have put forward. It will be found that the observations made by the Census Commissioner are not supported by the figures, do not arise from those tables, and are inconsistent and arise merely from certain preconceived notions of what he thinks should be the objective of the 'marumakkathayam' society. At the risk of being pedantic, "consortium" is defined in the great Oxford English Dictionary which is the last word on the subject as "partership, association," the kind of association that is referred to as "association of two organisms". Thus 'consortium' or 'consortum'—both of which terms are well known in scientific terminology—is the association of two organisms, each of which is dependent on the other for its existence. Now the use of the word "consortium" or even the use of the word "loose consortium" is not a thing against which any reproach can be levelled. But let us analyse the report. It must be taken for granted that the writer of this report is in favour of a freer marriage or non-marriage tie. He has made it clear in page 61 paragraph 194.

> "Religion, which should give that necessary balance to society, is often invoked to give edge to communal bitterness culminating in communal conflicts. It is no wonder, therefore,

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[President.]

> that society demands a revision of the ancient codes based on religious sanction, and asks for a freer life, untrammelled by the restrictions imposed by religion which has long lost its pristine purity. So, let divorce stand with the re-marriage of widows as a humanitarian contribution to modern society."

So it will not be possible to understand the Census Report adequately without that background, *viz.*, that the Census Commissioner apparently thinks that religion has no proper place in marriage, that as far as possible, religion and marriage should be divorced from each other and that the old trammels imposed by our religion should be regarded as of no weight and as liable to be annihilated by that humanitarian contribution to modern society which he pleads for. And therefore, he is, as I said, quite consistent. The question may arise whether a census report based on these arithmetical figures is a place where a gentleman can trot forth his humanitarian contributions towards the eternal problems of marriage and divorce. On that, two opinions are possible. But the thing does not stop there. Turning to paragraph 186, page 59, we see, as I have already pointed out, in one of the speeches that in many communities there is an excess of married females over married males. As a matter of fact, taking the whole of the State together, there are 1054 married females against 1000 married males. Therefore this unfortunate marumakkathayam community need not have been singled out for this bright observation which finds a place in the Census Report. Taking the whole of Travancore, all communities share the same fate. As a matter of fact, it is a well known circumstance that all over the world the more civilised a community is, the larger number of unmarried females exists rather than males. It is so. Germany was an exception even when it was civilized. But in England, in America and in many other places, excepting where the practice of female infanticide prevails, as in certain parts of Afghanistan, Persia and in certain parts of India, where they kill the children by putting them between two cushions, excepting in such cases, generally speaking in civilised communities females outnumber males.

It is perfectly true that a study of these census figures disclose that generally speaking, women have a greater longivity than men. But having stated those figures and having further pointed out that among the Hindus married females number 1069 whereas married males is 1047, among Muslims married females number 1085 and married males number 1049 and among Christians married females number 1022 and married males number 1007, the learned Census Commissioner proceeds as follows :—"Polygamy is prohibited among

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Christians both by law and by religion. So the excess in this case may very likely be due to emigration of married males". That is in the case of Christians, the excess of married females over married males is due to emigration. Then he goes on —

> "This may be true to a certain extent in the case of Hindus and Muslims also".

That is paragraph 186. Then comes suddenly paragraph 188. How he had compared all those figures ! it is difficult to understand, It reads thus :—

> "Though Legislation has thus considerably helped in maintaining and promoting the sanctity of marriage, economic conditions have driven the helpless female, especially after the collapse of the 'Marumakkathayam' system to a loose form of 'Consortium' for getting her daily bread....."

Let us analyse it a little further. The first sentence begins, "Though legislation....." that is the Nair and the Ezhava and the other legislation has considerably helped in maintaining and promoting the sanctity of marriage, notwithstanding that the sanctity of marriage is there, those persons who have entered into the marriage tie have broken that sanctity and economic conditions have driven the helpless females sanctified by that marriage into loose consortium. If the grammatical or the dictionary meaning is used of consortium, that is, association in consort—King's Consort, Queen's Consort—there is no harm in that. But the harm is in the juxta position or the apposition of the first portion relating to the sanctity of marriage as contra-distinct from the loose consortium. The English scholar naturally may make a distinction on that and obviously the Census Commissioner makes a clear distinction between other communities and Marumakkathayam Communities who "resort to loose consortium for getting her daily bread". It will be remembered that the Census Commissioner says "if statistics *could* be collected"—that is, the Census Commissioner admits that statistics have not been collected on this point. If my remarks would be remembered that the Census Commissioner's duty is to collect statistics and base his inference on those statistics, one would have expected that the Census Commissioner had collected statistics of those unsanctified ladies. But one searches in vain into those tables for any such figures. "If statistics *could* be collected" about the cases of negation of connubial bliss..... "apparently the Census Commissioner means that if the Census Commissioner's subordinates went round from house to house asking the people there, "Are you living a happy married life, are you having connubial bliss, or is there any negation of connubial bliss"—if such a research were conducted and if statistics could be collected with regard to these negations, then it

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will unfold "a harrowing tale of woe and misery indeed". Having said that, the Census Commissioner proceeds ;—

> "This hidden misery is more poignant than the hidden unemployment. No law could mitigate this evil. That spirit of real social service which transcends the narrow limits of community or custom can alone bring salvation to this suffering humanity.. ..."

How could the unsanctified Marumakkathayam lady by transcending the narrow limits of community and custom get over this evil is not clear. Anyhow reading these things together it is not really possible to delete one paragraph or another in the Census Report. The whole Census Report is based upon a series of what may be called irrelavant aspects or points of view and therefore I do not consider that although this House or the other House may express its general opinion by voting upon this motion mainly to register what may be called its disapproval—it is within its rights do so—but to ask Government or anybody else to delete these paragraphs is to ask them to do an appalling task. Which paragraphs are we to delete? Is it the one relating to social reform or the looser marriage tie? I do not know why the honourable members fixed upon this particular paragraph. If I were a member sitting on the non-official bench, I should have really asked for the deletion of paragraph 194 where religions are sought to be abrogated and a freer society demanding freer life, untrammelled by the restrictions imposed by religion is advocated that is more or less on the lines of Judge Lindsay's Companionate marriage. That is all unsuited to the traditions and the history of India. It may be that India may embark upon a system of companionate marriage in the future. But the Census Report is not the appropriate place for this thesis on companionate marriage being put in.

Now I turn to the portion dealing with the Temple Entry Proclamation. There, the position is a little more complicated. There is no point in dealing with paragraph 393 because the whole position is this. We will take paragraph 386. The learned author has somewhat very severe observations to make as regards the neglect of Hindu temples. He says :

> "The lethargy becoming noticeable in Hindu society had been responsible for the neglect of many a temple ; and the phenomenal decrease in the number of temple....."
>
> "Then with this decline the ownership of the Hindu Temples became the bone of contentions....."
>
> "Then in the course of the conflict for the ownership of the temples the management of several of them became disorderly and the State had in consequence to assume their control and management....."

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After having said that, he says :

> "The majority of the temples in course of time came under the management of the State so much so, their administration became a regular function of Government as distinct from their original management by the Karakkar. With the spread of English Education a feeling of self-respect asserted itself among the masses along with the desire to share in the religious life inside the temples permitted to the Savarnas only."

That is, as soon as a person went to the grammar school and came under the influence of Mr. Gopala Menon he wanted to enter the temple. That is the argument of the learned author.

> "With the spread of English education, a feeling of self-respect asserted itself among the masses along with the desire to share in the religious life....." manifested itself..... ..."
> "The assumption of management of temples by the State transformed the demand for this privilege into the claim for a right and, together, these forces paved the way for the movement for the Temple Entry....."

In other words if the Travancore Government had not passed the Hindu Religious Endowment Act it cannot have taken so many temples under its control. And there would have been no temple entry movement. That is the point in paragraph 387. Then there is paragraph 389 dealing with the Temple Entry Proclamation itself. A temple remains under the stronghold of the Sanathanists. The Sanathanists also had gone to the primary and secondary schools and to the University. But those paragraphs had not been deleted.

> "The temple remained the stronghold of the Savarnas and their dominating influence prevented the removal of Caste barriers"

Nobody who reads paragraph 393 along with paragraph 387 will fail to see that certain thesis are sometimes the bane of certain authors.

> "The Sanathanists found one citadal after another surrendering and their very existence threatned by the ostracism of those whom they have ostracised before".

The real trouble is not about whether the Saraswat Brahmins or Sri Sankaracharya closes or opens a temple. That matter may be easily disposed of. The Saraswat Brahmins have certain temples not only here but in Cochin and Malabar. They are held under what may be called "loose consortium". There, these temples are managed by a kind of general Board of Management which operates not only in Travancore but in Cochin and Malabar. Therefore they cannot do so, so long as Cochin and Malabar have not abolished this ban, they cannot abolish it in Travancore, because it will be very curious to see that one man goes into one temple but the same person cannot enter another. That will be the position, So

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far as Sankaracharya's temples are concerned, they are in Mysore. They have declined to deal with this matter. This is what may be called an adjunct to the Sringerimutt which is in Mysore territory. That is why there has been a differentiation in that respect but it is gratifying that practically every private temple here has thrown open its doors. But that apart, the question is not whether the doors of private temples are open to Avarnas and Savarnas.

The Census Commissioner observes :—

> "The Sanatanists found one citadel after another surrendering and their very existence threatened by the ostracism of those whom they had ostracised before."

This observation is not based on figures. There are no figures. All that is given here bear absolutely no data on which the Census Commissioner comes to that conclusion. And that is a supreme example of irrelevant and completely otiose remark wholly independent of facts or reasonable deduction from facts. In other words the Census Report by being printed along with the tables has greatly embarrassed the Government and has put the Government as a kind of defendant before the bar of public opinion not only in India but throughout the world.

It is all very well to say who is going to bother about Marumakkathayam women. I am not a Marumakkathayee myself but I do know that many countries which boast of what may be called religiously sanctified marriage did not reveal, as many instances of fidelty in conjugal union, as this form of what may be called Sambandam marriage would show. Many did not understand it and in fact the Murumakkathayam Marriage Act was itself due to a misunderstanding of the meaning and significance of the old system of marriage. It was merely because the Madras University was a resort of many Malabar people who went to Madras and found it difficult to explain to a fellow-student and teachers of Madras of what was happening in Malabr. These people after passing through the portals of the University came home and said "We shall be like Madras". There was nothing more sacred about one form of marriage than the other. To say that there was loose consortium as opposed to sanctified forms of marriage is to defame a whole race. A great Statesman once said "You can lay a complaint against a man. But you cannot indict a nation". I am afraid the Census Commissioner has indicted a nation.

The Council adjourned at 4-45 P. M.

K. P. SUBRAMONIA AIYAR,
Secretary to the Sri Chitra State Council.

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